

6

A
SERMON

PREAUGHT

On *January 30th*. 1683.

IN

Westminster-Abby,

Before the REVEREND and
HONOURABLE, the

KINGS JUDGES,

and Printed at their Request.

By *Edw. Pelling*, Præbendary of *Westminster*, and Chaplain to
his Grace the Duke of *Somerset*.

*Omnis quidem sub Rege & ipse sub nullo, sed tantum sub Deo; non est
inferior sibi Subjectis, non parem habet in Regno. Braſon. l. 1. c. 8.*

A Deo Rex, à Rege Lex.

L O N D O N.

Printed by *H. Hills Jun.* for *William Abington*, next
Door to the *Wonder Tavern* in *Ludgate-Street*. 1683.

SEPT 1893

RECEIVED



To the Right Honourable Sir *George Jeffe-
ryes*, Knt. and Bar. Lord Chief Justice
of *England*, and one of His Majesties
Most Honourable Privy-Council.

My Lord,

I Do heartily wish, that your Lordships desires
had not been so Earnest and Pressing as they
were, to have this Discourse made Publick,
which I assure Your Lordship was not in the least
by me designed to be sent abroad into the World.
Your Lordship knew those Obligations I lye un-
der to Your Lordship as my Kind and Noble
Friend, and the Principle I go upon of submit-
ting to Authority; so that Your Lordship had
me under a double tye, both of Gratitude and
Obedience.

I expect to bear a great many more hard Cen-
sures and Invectives for this, though I have done
no more then what I think was my bounden Duty
to do: But those things I have been so accustomed
to bear, that I am now Clamour-proof; I had
almost said, that mine Ears are somewhat like a
Traitors Conscience, past all feeling. But (if I
may have leave to express my Real thoughts)
I cannot but pity Your Lordship and your Reve-
rend Brethren, for Causing this Sermon to be
Printed; because hereby you have made it your
own, and are Oblig'd in Honour to undertake for
it, and to be my Defendants, if ever I should be
Threatned

Threatned to be brought upon my Knees, or to hold up my hand at the Bar for this, as I have been threatned formerly for things of the like Nature.

And this I may think to be Security good enough. But the mischief is, that if ever those Canicular days should come again, Your Lordships will be in greater Jeopardy then my self; and then God help my Advocates as well as Your Client.

Let times be as it shall please God : It is, my Lord, your Honour that you are true to your Duty ; and it is my satisfaction, that I can in any thing Obey your Commands : And I do it with the more readiness, because it is observed, how ready your Lordship and the rest of the Judges are to stand by the Interest of the Church, and upon all Occasions publickly to Vindicate the Honour and Integrity of the Conformable and Loyal Clergy.

That the God of peace, for whom you Judge, will Vouchsafe to preserve you in your Great and Honourable Station, and support your Courage, and Bless your Labours in the Ministration of Justice, and Eternally Reward your Faithfulness to the King, to the Church, and to the whole Nation, is, My Lord, the hearty Prayer of

*Your Lordships most Obligated,
and Obedient Servant,*

Edw. Pelling.

Rom. 13. 2.

*Whosoever therefore Resisteth the Power,
Resisteth the Ordinance of God; and
they that Resist, shall receive to them-
selves Damnation.*

WHen the Christian Religion began to be planted in the World, there were four very Evil Men, which in their turns Succeeded *Augustus* in the Roman Empire; *Tiberius*, *Caligula*, *Claudius* and *Nero*, (the latter of whom was the Man, that raised the first Persecution against Christians.) I do not know, but the Providence of God might order it thus, that all men might have the most early notices of their Duty to Princes, and that together with the true Faith, they might receive the necessary Doctrines of due Obedience and Subjection, to their Lawful Governours, whether good or bad. It was under *Tiberius* that Christ (the Great

B Bishop

Bishop of all our Souls) gave that Command of rendering to ~~Cæsar~~ the things that were ~~Cæsar's~~, *Matth. 22. 21.* It was under *Claudius*, that *St. Peter* (the Great Apostle of the *Jews*) taught the dispersed Converts, to submit themselves to every Ordinance of Man, for the Lords sake; whether to the King as Supream., or unto Governours sent by him, *Eccl. 1 Pet. 2.* And (as 'tis generally conceived) it was under *Nero*, that *St. Paul* (the great Apostle of the *Gentiles*) gave this so strict a charge: *Let every Soul be subject to the Higher Powers: Because there is no Power but of God.* Had not this thing been a prime part of the Christian Religion, we cannot conceive why such great care should have been taken to inform the whole World of it, especially in times which afforded not any common encouragements thereunto.

Were it not a sad Truth, that some will believe no more of the Scriptures, then what serves their present Turn, we might wonder how 'tis possible for a Christian to be an Undutiful Subject. For, (as that great Christian, and Divine; the Learned and Incomparable *Dr. Hammond*) hath rightly observed; In the New Testament, especially

especially in the Epistles of the Apostles ,
 (which were all Written in time of the
 Reign of Wicked, Heathen, Bloody Adver-
 saries of Christianity, and can refer to none
 but those) there is no one Christian Virtue,
 or Article of Faith more clearly delivered ,
 more effectually inforced upon our Under-
 standings and Affections, to be acknowledg-
 ed by the one, and submitted to by the o-
 ther, then that of Obedience unto Kings.

So that it is not either Ignorance that
 can excuse, or any allowable principle of
 Christianity that can encourage Resistance ;
 nor is it Zeal or Conscience that doth it ,
 though that has been pretended by some pu-
 ling and ill natur'd Hypocrites ; but 'tis ei-
 ther an haughty and unmanageable Spirit ,
 or an hankering after Spoyl , or an Aking
 Tooth after Government , or a Furious
 Rage for disappointments, or Personal Spight,
 or hopes of Revenge , or the fear of Justice,
 or a Restless, Factious Humour, or direct
 Devillishness and Atheism under the Bonnet
 of Religion ; some or all these things have
 ever been the true causes of those Riots ,
 which have been so Vexatious, so Fatal to
 Sovereign Powers : It being otherwise im-
 possible, that Men whose Consciences are so

Enlightned' by Gods own Word ; should be so Blind, Wicked and Fool-hardy ; as to Rise up against their Prince, at the manifest hazard of the Greatest and most Intolerable of all Evils : For that is the Rebels portion, if St. *Paul* may be credited, That they who resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.

Yet I do not intend to declaim, though the World might well bear with me, and with all others, should our mouths be full of the very Quintessence of bitterness ; especially when we reflect upon that most Horrid and Execrable Murder, which was acted about this time upon the person of that Great Monarch and Martyr, of whom the World was not worthy, and perhaps will hardly ever see the like of him again. It would be a pittiful and woful thing indeed, should not such a superlative piece of Villany stir at least an honest mans Choler, and provoke him to spit some of it in the Rebels face. I hope things will not come to that pass yet, but that we who then had not hands to rescue a good Kings blood, may now be allowed the use of our Tongues to Revenge it, and I trust in God our honest Posterity will think so too.

But I will charm my self, as much as 'tis possible,

possible, and instead of breaking out into such declamatory speeches as this occasion does justly require; I shall insist upon the natural Sense and Importance of my Text, and with what brevity I can, handle such truths as may be easily discover'd by any Eye that is not blood-shot, or that doth not look askint upon our Government.

In order hereunto we are to note, 1. That by resistance here is meant in general all undutiful, disobedient and contumacious behaviour, and in particular all open, forcible and violent Opposition. 2. That by the Power in my Text is meant, not only the Governours Authority, but the Governour himself, the Person of the Chief Magistrate who is vested with the Supreme Authority. This is well to be observed, because the Traytors of the late times proceeded upon a nice distinction between the Kings Natural and Politick capacity; cheating the World into a belief, that his Power was Lodged not in his Person, but in the Two Houses of Parliament, and that 'twas not the Man in the Throne, but the Regal Authority which was virtually in the People, that was the thing sacred. According to this sophistical pretence, the King was against
himself;

himself; and such as stood for him, were understood to Resist his Power in defending his Person: So that in the upshot 'twas his Majesty that was looked upon as the Traytor against the King, and they who destroy'd him, did not destroy their Sovereign, but did only cut off *Charles Stuart*: No, the Rebellious Juncto at *Westminster* were (in their own Language) the Kings most dutiful and most Loyal Subjects, even when they pull'd off his Crown, when one damned Faction held him by the Hair, and the other Godly Reprobates cut off his Head.

After this rate was not the Apostle, a very Heterodox Malignant, an ill Commonwealths-man, in not dividing the Kings Authority from his Person, but joyning both together? For he calls the Person of *Nero*, and other Princes ἐξουσίαι καὶ ἐξουσίαι, the Supreme, or Highest Powers, v. 1. And by his following discourse 'tis plain, that by the Power he doth mean the Person of the Magistrate that is in Chief, the person that presideth over all, the person that is the Head of a Nation. For at the 3d. 4th. and 6th. Verses he calls him expressly the Ruler, the Minister of God, the man that beareth the
the

the Sword, the Revenger, pointing all along to the person himself, that is to receive Tribute, to the person that is Gods Substitute and Deputy, to the person that is to praise them that do well, and Execute wrath upon evil-doers. Shall I take leave to give you a paraphrase upon my Text? Why, you shall have it, not out of any single Commentator that may be looked upon as an Arbitrary or Prerogative man, or one Popishly affected, but out of an honest Statute of this Realm, which makes St. Paul's Divinity to be Law too; the Act declares, *That it is not lawfull upon any pretence whatsoever, to take Arms against the King, and that the Position of taking Arms by the Kings Authority against his Person, or against those that are commissioned by him, is a Trayterous Position.* Nay, there is another very significant word yet, which commands every Subject to be an *Abborrer* in this point, for saith the Law, it is a Traiterous position, to be *Abbarr'd*.

The Text being thus opened, there are three grand Truths which it offers to every mans conscience, and which cannot but stare in that Rebels face, whose conscience is not scared with an hot Iron, though I think,

think , there are few Rebels in the Land whose consciences are not seared to a very Crust.

1. That the Supreme Power, or the Authority which is seated in the Kings Person, is the Ordinance of God himself.

2. That because the King is Gods own Minister, ordained Supreme by his Commission, no man must dare upon pain of Damnation, to use any violence against him.

3. That considering what Princes were, who were the Supreme Powers in *St. Paul's* time , it is by no means lawful to resist even wicked and Heathen Kings. And when these truths are alittle laid open, Duty and Allegiance will further oblige us all to consider the sin of the Day.

1. First, That the Supreme Power, or the Authority which is seated in the Kings Person, is the Ordinance of God himself: Who-soever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God, saith the Apostle: And so this point passed all along uncontradicted through all Ages, till some counted it a greater virtue to be Politicians, then to be Honest; I do not know one Christian Writer for 1600 years together, who ever denied that

that the Power of the Civil Magistrate is of Divine Institution; though *Jure Divino* is now look't upon by some either, Fanciful or Ill Men, as a betraying of the Peoples Liberties and Rights. And yet doth not the Apostle positively tell us, that there is no power but of God? v. 1. And to prevent a mistake, for fear we should interpret this of Gods Permission only, he tells us in the next breath, that the Powers that be, are Ordained of God: And that is much more than Permission. He hath permitted Oppressors and Usurpers, *Bradshaws, Cromwels*, and such like Excrements of Nature: But he never appointed, or Ordained them as he doth every Lawful Prince. No; the Commission, the Authority of a Lawful Prince is from above; so that he is, *Homo à Deo secundus, & quicquid est à Deo consecutus, & Solo Deo minor*, as *Tertullian* (and all Christians then) believed; a Man next unto God, holding all his Regalities of God, Inferior to God alone. And indeed how could St. *Paul* call Kings, the Ministers of God (as he doth Thrice for failing, in 2. Verses of this Chapter) were not the Authority of Kings by Divine Right, or Designation? All the Apostles expressions are

so clear, so significant, so full on the Kings behalf, that I should be loth to see the Tythe of so much, for a Chair-man in a Common-wealth, or for a Parish Pope, or for a Lay-Elder : Nay, did the Scriptures speak but the Hundredth part so much on their side, what a Noise, and Dust should we have about *Jus Divinum* then ?

Many men do not understand what we mean, when we say that this or that thing is *de Jure Divino* : many dangerous and mischievous Errors have been occasioned through mens Ignorance in this particular. Therefore for the right understanding of this matter, we must know that a thing may be said to be *Jure Divino* either in a strict, or in a larger sense.

1. In a strict sense, when we find it in the Word of God to be Ordained by such an exprefs Command, as that the neglect thereof becometh Sinful. Now when we speak of the Divine Right of Monarchy, we do not mean that God did institute it so, by his Exprefs Command, as if all other Forms of Government were absolutely Unlawful, or as if it were unlawful for a Monarch to Contract his Power, or set Limits to himself in the Use and Exercise of his Power. No ; Princes
may

may tie up their own hands themselves, tho it be not Lawful for their Subjects to force Manacles upon them : Kings may Abate much of their Greatness, if they will : 'tis lawful for them to do it *pro re natâ*, though it be Impolitick and Unsafe for them and for their Subjects too, to do so at every Turn. Therefore there is no ground for those Odious and Base Reflections which of late have been made upon the honest Clergy of this Church, as if they were Friends to Arbitrary Power, and Tyranny, and the like, for asserting the Kings Power to be of Divine Original. These are Lewd and Unjust censures: But so it is, that if any dirt can be raked out of the Kennel, the Clergy shall be sure to have store of it thrown upon their Faces.

See Mr. Hunt's
Post-script,

2. A thing is said to be *Jure divino* in a Larger sense.

1. When the Scriptures declare it to be Ordained of God, though we cannot shew the Original Command, or the precise time of its Institution:

2. Or Secondly, when we have strong and highly Probable Reasons to believe it (tho there were no Declarations on that behalf.)

1. Partly from the great Congruity of
C 2 the

the thing, by reason whereof it seems to be Morally and Humanely Necessary;

2. Partly from several Insinuations in Scripture, which render the thing very Credible:

3. And partly from the General practice of all Mankind, who would not (as we can suppose) have consented in the Universal Observation of the thing, had not God given some Law or other for it in the beginning.

Now then to apply this matter to our present purpose;

1. Those places of Scripture which I have alleadged already, do abundantly declare, that the King hath his Power and Authority from God. And this is enough to satisfy any Sober Man, who hath any Reverence for the Scripture, that Kingly Government was instituted by God (as the best of Governments) though we could not Trace the Institution of it clearly to the Fountain Head. For in a matter of so Remote Antiquity, it is not easie to Salve all doubts, or to take away all occasion of Cavil from every Witty and Inquisitive Sophister. As long as God hath declared, that Kings Reign by Him, 'tis Reasonable
for

for us to rest in that, should we not be able to answer that Impudent Question, which hath been ask't us of Late, *Where is the Charter for Kings ?* 'Tis in the Bible, we see: And that must satisfie me, though I could not tell when, or where, or how it was first Signed.

2. But then, 2^{ly}. It hath been found by the certain Experience of all Ages, that Monarchy is so Excellent, so Incomparably beyond all other Forms, so useful for the Ends of Government, and in many Cases so extreamly necessary for the publick Good; that 'tis reasonable to conclude from the very Congruity of the thing, that Kings were Ordained of God; because 'tis Reasonable to believe, that in the Beginning God did Order every thing for the Best, did Institute that Government which is most for the good of Prince and People too, and made the World for us all not to plague one another, but to be Happy in, as long as we stay in it.

3. Besides this, Thirdly, the Scripture gives us such plain, such pregnant Insinuations touching matter of Fact in this point, as do abundantly justifie the *Jus Divinum* of Regal power, to be no Idle, no Groundless Notion. Go to the Creation, and you will find,

find, that God Invested *Adam* with a plenitude of power over all Creatures, over his very Wife, and by consequence over all her Issue.

This the Apostle calleth, a Law 1. *Cor.* 14. 34. and as the Law which God gave to all his Works was to hold and last to the Worlds End ; so this Law touching Superiority and Subjection under one person, seems as if it was intended to continue, and to descend from Father to Son by Right of Primogeniture. And this I take to have been the True Reason of that deadly Quarrel which *Cain* had against his Righteous Brother. When he saw that God had a particular respect to *Abel* and his Offerings, he was afraid lest *Abel* should go away with the Regal power ; and so he contrived to be rid of him, not so much out of Envy, as out of Ambition, for fear he should lose his Birth-right. To quiet his mind as to that, God told him, that *if he did well, he should have the Excellence ; that his Brothers desire should be subject unto him, and that he should Rule over him* (which was the very Form of words, whereby the Protoplast was invested with Authority over his Wife.) And *St. Chrysoston* Rightly observes, that though
God

God was displeased with *Cain*, yet he did not presently deprive him of his just Authority and power, but allowed him still *το τε σωματικα καὶ το προσωπολογικα* the Priviledges of Primogeniture.

Thus it was in the Times before the Flood: Right of Dominion was ordered by God to Descend by Inheritance; and so it did actually descend, where God himself did not cut off that Right which he had given, for some Important Reasons.

In the times after the Flood, Government went in the same Channel. So *Reuben* was called the *Excellency of Dignity*, and the *Excellency of Power*, because he was the *First-Born*. And *Esau* should have been a Lord and Prince over *Jacob*, had he not Sold his Birth-right; and because he Sold it, he is called a *Prophane person* for Selling that which was not his own; it was a *Sacred* thing, a Donative from God; therefore he was Curfed for Selling it for a mess of Pottage.

But here we must note, that when Families increased, so that they were forced to part into several Colonies for want of Room; by the grant and Donation of the Father each Son became a distinct Prince, having

*Primo geniti
per Patris aut
Mortem aut
absentiam, pa-
ternam quo-
dammodo au-
toritatem in
fratres habe-
bant: Sed hoc
ius Peccato a-
mitti poterat.
Grot. Annos.
ad Gen. 4. 7.*

having a distinct Empire over his own Family ; and by such Divisions and Subdivisions it came to pass, that so many Monarchies were set up in the World in a short time. Hence it was that *Nimrod* had a Kingdom of his own : And the Scripture calls him a *Mighty Hunter*, not because he was a *Monarch*, but because he was a Violent *Encroacher* ; because not content with his own Empire, he Invaded the Rights and Royalties of others, who were Sovereigns within their Territories, as well as himself. Hence it is too, that upon that Orderly dispersion of the Sons of *Noah*, the whole Earth was by degrees divided into a great many Kingdoms ; so that of *Noahs* Issue there were I know not how many Kings in a short time. They were divided *after their Tongues*, *after their Families*, *after their Generations*, *in their several Nations and Countries*, as the Scripture often tells us, *Gen. 10.* Thus all the Monarchies in the World were Founded ; not by *Peoples chusing* their Leaders and Governours, but by *Princes going out* with their Respective Families, and using a Sovereign Power over them, pursuant to Gods Institution and Ordinance, that the *Head and Chief* of a Family

See Mr. Medes
diatrib. in *Gen.*
10.

Family should have Dominion and Authority over the rest.

Hence also it was, that we read of Twelve Princes out of the Loins of *Ishmael*; and of several Dukes which Sprang out of the Loins of *Esau*. For every Head of a Distinct Great Family was by the Divine appointment a King in his Nation; and his Kingdom was of greater or less Extent, as his Family was more or less Numerous. And hence, lastly, it was, that we Read of many Kingdoms in one Country (as in *Canaan*, for Instance) because their Territories were according to their Numbers: So that Antiently Principalities were but small, till by the Union of many Great Families (either by Conquest and Force, or by Voluntary Submission) Great Monarchies and Empires came to be Erected.

4. And this brings me to the last Observable, to prove the *Jus Divinum* of Kingly Power; viz. The Universal practice of all Nations. For nothing can be more plain, than that Kingly Government was the only Government (we know of) in the whole World for some Thousand Years together. The *Greeks* were under Monarchs all along, till such a Frenzy possess some of them, as

D.

hath

hath possess'd some Bedlams among us, to change their Old Government for a New nothing : But their Madneſs did coſt them very dear in the End ; they were Undone and Ruin'd by it, as we ſhould ſoon be by our Innovations. In the moſt Antient Times there was no ſuch thing as an Ariſtocratick or Democratick State : And the Reaſon why the *Jews* would needs have a King (though they were under a Theocracy) was, becauſe they would not be Singular ; therefore they would have a King to Judge them, as all the Nations (all other Nations) had, 1 *Sam.* 8. 5. Now, *Lex currit cum praxi* ; the Univerſal Practice of the World is a ſtrong argument to prove, that there was ſome Antecedent Law, which (as they ſuppoſed) did lay ſome Obligation upon them ; becauſe people are not very forward to fall under Government of themſelves (ſuppoſing them to be in a State of Liberty :) Nor is it conceivable that all Men in the World ſhould be of one mind, or that one Form of Government ſhould pleaſe all ; eſpecially that Government which is in the hands of one Man : We may as ſoon believe, that all parts of the World did fall aſleep at once, and then all on a ſudden did

did awake into so many Formed and Setled Monarchies.

By this time, I hope, it doth appear, that there are stronger Reasons for the Doctrine of the *Jus Divinum* of Regal Power, then that it should be lookt upon as a State-Heresie of a Modern date, and of dangerous Consequence. The suitability thereof to Human necessities, the Concurrence of Scripture-history, which doth plainly Insinuate the Institution, the Original, the Usage of Monarchical Dominion, together with the Suffrages of all Mankind, who for a long Tract of Ages submitted unto it, as if it were Entailed upon them from the beginning: All this, I say, doth clearly argue as well the Truth as the Reason of this Proposition, that the Kings power is Gods Ordinance.

Which serves also to baffle those Wild and groundless conceits which our Republican Spirits are so very fond of; that there was once a State of Nature, wherein all Mankind were Free, under their own Power, and at their own choice, whether they would have Government or no Government; and whether they would have this Form or another. These and the like are

no other then the Lewd and Idle conceits of Factionous Brains : For there never was such a State of Nature, but in the Imagination of such Brainfick Men who have fancied a World in the Moon : Whosoever has come out of the Womb hath been Born under Government ; nay, under Kingly Government, till Rebellion, or Faction, or the Love of Novelty altered the Natural and Regular course of affairs. I do not blame *Aristotle*, and other Old Infidels, for not hitting well upon the True Original of Government, considering they were not well acquainted with the Scriptures, but spake for the most part by guess.

But I wonder at the confidence of *Hobbs* and other such Modern Politicians (though in truth even they are for the most part Infidels too) for talking so idly and unphilosophically, as that Kings have their Authority by Compact and Covenant, and the pleasure of the people ; so that they may Crown them, or Un-king them, as they think fit ; Doctrines, which cost King *Charles the 1st*, of Blessed Memory, no less then his Crown and his Head too. Whereas ! for many Ages after the Creation, Regal Authority descended by Inheritance ; and as Nature gave

a Man the Father-hood, so the Authority which went along with it, was Gods Donative ; people did no more chuse their Kings, then Children do chuse their Fathers. As for Common-wealths, and Aristocracies and Elective States, the World formerly was unacquainted with them ; nay the very Names of them were unknown : No, they are only so many Usurpations, Degenerate and Bastard sorts of Government : The Monarchical Form as it is far the best, so 'tis incomparably the Oldest, and of Gods own Institution : The rest are but Upstarts and Mushrooms of yesterday in comparison ; and I think, 'tis nothing but the necessities of some few places in the World, that makes them either Tolerable or Lawful.

2. I have done with the first point, That the Kings Power is Gods Ordinance, and it brings me to the 2^d, That because the King is Gods own Minister, Ordained Supreme by his Commission, no man must dare upon pain of Damnation, to use any Violence against him ; *they that Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation.* For , if God will Judg the Open and the Secret Actions of men according to the Gospel, and re- ward

ward every man according to his Works, what less can the bold *Rebel* expect, then the *Severities* of Judgment, that presumes in spite of all the Out-cries of Conscience, to act that which is so contrary to the *Ends* of Government ; so *Reproachful* to the Gospel, so repugnant to the *Spirit* of its *Author* and its *Laws* ? Did not Christ suffer for us, leaving us an example that we should follow his steps ? 1 *Pet.* 2 21. Did not his Peaceable and Submissive deportment all along Teach us, that all Undutifulness and Violence must be utterly forborn ? Did he not pay *Cesar* his Tribute with a plain command, that every Disciple of his should pay him his due ? Did he not Rebuke those, who would have called for Fire upon the Heads of the *Samaritanes* ? Did he not recommend to us, the Practice of his Humility, Meekness, and Patience under the Cross ? Was he not angry with *Peter* for drawing his Sword upon the Chief Priests Servants ? Did he not own *Pilates* Power to have been from above ? Did he not submit to it, when he had at his Command 12 Legions of Angels ? Did not every Instance of his Life shew us, that 'tis better far to Die, then to Resist ? Why, *this* was *Christ's* Religion ;
and

and this is Christianity, that we should be *Conformed to the Image of Christ*, Rom. 8. 29. That's the Substance, the Power, the Life of Christianity : That's the business and Office of every Christian : And though Men please themselves with other popular Names, and call themselves the only *true Catholicks* on the one hand, and the only *true Protestants* on the other ; yet as long as they are Disloyal on either hand ; as long as they are *Gun-powder Catholicks*, or *Cut-throat True Protestants* ; as long as they shoot at Government either with *Bulls*, or with *Ordinances*, as long as *Consults* or *Covenants* are in Fashion with them, and the King cannot be safe for them neither in the Field, nor at Home ; as long as they Act after this Devilish rate, they do but abuse themselves into a State of Damnation, for all their fine Names ; they ought not to be called *Christians* ; or if they will wrongfully Usurp *that* Name too, there are as good Christians as they with *Korah* and *Judas* ; and I had rather be a meer Philosopher, or an honest Hea-then, then *such* a Christian.

And doth not the Gospel strictly Com-
mand us, not to Strive, not to Resist Evil,
but

but to be Charitable, Patient and Peaceable, to obey Magistrates, to Honour the King, to Submit to our Rulers, to be Quiet, to do our own Business, and to be subject for Conscience sake? many Commands more we meet with up and down which hallow the Authority, and immure the Throne of the Chief Magistrate. And doth not my Text award Damnation to every Rebel? Why, one would think, that such Men did use some *other* Gospel, since they have no benefit by *this*, nothing but *Damnation* by the Gospel of *Christ*. Certainly they have a Gospel by *themselves*; *Evangelium Armatum*, a Gospel that is covered in Armour and dipt in Blood: For by *ours*, there is no Salvation for them, without such a Stinging Repentance as *St. Paul* describes in 2 *Cor.* 7. 11.

But I shall not need to proceed further upon the proof of this Matter, because the clearing of the 3^d. Point will serve à *Fortiori* to confirm this. Only give me leave, before I come to it, to note how the Apostle in my Text doth Limit Non-Resistance. He forbids Resistance against the Governour in *Chief*, against him that is the *Fountain* of all Authority in the Kingdom. Let every *Soul* be Subject (but) to the *Higber* (that is,

is, to the *bighest*, or Supreme) Powers. And so in my Text, he that Resisteth the Power, meaning the same Power, that is the Power, the Authority, the Magistrate that is over *all* : Whether it be King as *Supreme*, saith St. Peter, 1 Pet. 2. 13. Supremacy was in the *Crown* in those days; there the Highest Power is Lodged, and *that* is the Power we must be subject unto for *Conscience sake*. Other Usurping and pretending Powers Men may be forced sometimes to be subject unto upon pain of *Plunder* and *Sequestration* ; but the *Supreme* Power, the *King* is he, whom we must not Resist upon pain of *Damnation*. There is in every Kingdom the Supreme, and a Subordinate Magistracy. So St. Peter doth distinguish between the *King that is Supreme*, and *Governours that are sent by Him*. The King is Gods Representative, other Subordinate Governours are the King's : And as long as those Governours Act Regularly, and according to their Commission, they are to be obeyed too. But I will speak a blunt Truth, whatever be the Issue of it, should our Nation be so unhappy again as it was in 42. when Inferior (or rather, Usurping) Powers forsook their *Allegiance*, *Levyed a War*, *Raised*

E

Arms

Arms, Issued out Commissions, and turned the points of their Swords against the Supreme (and only Lawful) Power, it would be not only allowable and Lawful, but 'twould be the Peoples Duty, and in point of Conscience a necessary Duty to Resist such Power even unto Blood, though Ten Thousand Houses of Parliament (were there so many) should pretend to it.

Perhaps I might have spared that Hint in this Age, when our former sufferings on each side, should be enough (one would think) to make all Men Wise, and for their Interest (if not for Conscience) sake to be Dutiful for the Future. But I could not baulk it well, without baulking something in my Text which forbiddeth all Resistance against the *Supreme or Sovereign Power.*

3. That Power is priviledg'd from all Resistance, though the King should happen to be a Wicked, or an Heathen Prince ; which is the 3^d. and last point, and it is concluded from the Consideration of what those Princes were, when the Apostles were planting Christianity : For when *St. Peter* wrote his First Epistle, wherein he Charged Christians to Submit to the King as Supreme, and
unto

unto Governours, his Ministers of State, Christians were so hardly dealt with, that they were forced to Flee up and down into places where they could best shift, into *Pontus*, *Galatia*, and divers Provinces more, as we find at the beginning of that Epistle. And *Claudius* himself, who probably was Emperour at that Time, was a Man of a Cruel disposition, Zealous for Heathenish Idolatry, Severe to all of a Foreign Religion, so that he would not suffer the *Jews* to meet together (saith *Dio* ;) and at last he Expel'd the whole Body of *Jews* out of *Rome* (Believers, and Unbelievers too ,) and that upon Christs account, saith *Suetonius*, such was the Emperour, and such were his Ministers, that they would not allow Christians neither the exercise of their Religion , nor the Liberty of their Native Countries, nor the protection of their own Houses ; and yet, both *Claudius* and his Deputies must be submitted unto. After *Claudius* immediately came *Nero* to be Emperour : A man called a Lyon by St. *Paul* himself, because he was of a Savage and ferine mind, especially after he had got a taste of Blood (that I may save *Seneca's* credit in his Book *de Clementia* :) A Man that kill'd his Tutor af-

ter all his Courtship of him ; that dispatcht his Wife and Ript open the Bowels of his Own Mother. A man that had a spight against every thing that was Good (saith *Tertullian*,) and that some Christians took to have been the *Antichrist* spoken of. For he was the Man that rais'd the first of the Ten Famous and General Persecutions, that inflicted punishments upon Christians, saith *Suetonius* ; put them to the most exquisite Torments, saith *Cornelius Tacitus*. For he Crucified some, and others he Burned: And as before, he set Fire on *Rome*, that he might please himself with the Resemblance of the Burning of *Troy*, so after that he burnt Christians in huge Heaps and Piles, that the light of the Fires might direct Passengers in dark Nights (saith the *Historian* :) and not content with all this Cruelty, many Christians he drest up in the Skins of Wild Beasts, that they might be Torn in pieces by Dogs, as the same *Tacitus* Relates further. It was in the Reign of this Monster of Men, that *St. Paul* liv'd, by this Token, that he caused that Apostle himself to be Beheaded ; and it was in the 2d. Year of *Nero* (as 'tis probably conjectur'd by *Baronius* out of *O-rigen*) that *St. Paul* wrote this Epistle to the

the Christians in and about the Imperial City : And though St. *Paul* knew enough of the Man already , and the Spirit of God foresaw a great deal more , yet you see what was written touching Subjection even to him (who was a shame to all Princes) even this, *Let every Soul be subject to the Highest Powers ; for there is no Power but of God : The Powers that be , are Ordained of God: Whosoever therefore Resisteth the Power , Resisteth the Ordinance of God, and they that Resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.*

Against this that hath been spoken there is one popular objection which I must take notice of, and it is this : That where a Kingdom hath adopted the True Religion, so that it is Establisht by publick Authority (as God be Blessed it is in this Kingdom) and the Laws of the Country are on its side , there Resistance is not unlawful, if a Prince doth indeavour the Destruction or Alteration of the True Faith.

In answer hereunto these things in short are to be considered.

1. First that the true Religion was Establisht in the *Jewish* State by the Municipal Laws of that Nation, and that by the Authority of

of God himself and yet, though several Kings did attempt the introduction of Idolatry, nay did actually introduce it, the *Jews* Resisted not nevertheless, and if they had Resisted, such Resistance had been sinful notwithstanding.

2. It is very hard and unjust, that Princes Favours should be made use of against themselves, that their Prerogatives should be prejudiced for their having received the Faith, and for the Kindnesses they have shewed to the Church of Christ. Because *Constantine* was a Zealous Protector of the true Religion, it would have been highly Unreasonable, should this have redounded to the Violation of the Imperial Dignity of his Son *Constantius*. The Primitive Christians had the Laws of *Constantine* on their side : And yet they did not think Resistance Lawful, though the Son was an Enemy to that Faith, of which the Father was the Defender.

3. No Laws ought to be pleaded beyond their plain Design and Meaning. Now the intent of our Laws is to secure our Religion against *Schismatics*, and *Hereticks* ; but not to Arm Subjects against their Prince. For the same Laws which are the Stabiliment
of

of the Church, do manifestly and Roundly declare all Resistance to be unlawful and Treasonable, and do Agnize the power of the Sword to be in the King, and in the King only : So that *no Law* is on our side as to matter of *Resistance*.

4. Should our Laws be so bad, as to allow of Resistance in *some* Cases, yet this could be no Bar against the Laws of God which forbid Resistance in *all* Cases. For it is not in the power of men to give us leave to Sin; nor can any Humane Authority give us the liberty whether we will obey the Commands of Christ or no. I may not in any wise Hurt my Prince, had I his own leave for it, *because the King of Kings hath commanded me under pain of his high displeasure to do the Contrary.*

5. Nay I will be bold to say, in the last place that supposing Law-givers should be so Impolitick as under pain of Death to *require*, and by a Formed Law to *command* us to Resist the Sovereign power, it ought not in any wise to be done however. For it is a standing Rule in Christianity, that Authority is not to be obeyed in things that are Unlawful, now Resistance is simply and in its own Nature Sinful; and all *Casuists* will

will tell us, that *rei illicitæ nulla est obligatio*, an Unlawful Command cannot bind, unless it be to Sufferings; such a command would be Null and Void of it self; the matter of a Law sometimes taking off its Obligation, when 'tis contrary to the Laws of God and Nature; and such would a Law for Resistance be, should the Authority of the whole Kingdom consent to it.

I have done now with the Consideration of my Text, and come at length to the day: but am at a great loss, how or where to begin, or in what Language to express my Sense of that Superlative Villany Acted at this time; which hath stain'd the Consciences of Rebels with Blood, which hath dyed the Faces of all Christians with shame, which hath brought upon all English Men a perpetual Reproach, which was an astonishment to all Nations, a blow to all Thrones, a wound to the hearts of all Princes, a Contumely to Heaven, and such an horrid Affront to the great God, that I am afraid, whatsoever Judgments and Plagues we have laboured under since, or do labour under still, have fallen upon our Heads as the Returns of that Cry, *with which the Sacred Blood of the Lords Anointed, his late Majesty, went up to Heaven.*

Heaven. I pray God our Land may be once thoroughly cleansed from the Guilt of it. The Blood of Christ can, and nothing but Christs own blood can purge us. And I am of the opinion, that if the blood of any Prince or Martyr could be so valuable and precious, as never to be atoned for in this World, it would be that *Royal*, that *Sacred*, that *Innocent* blood, which was so barbarously shed upon the Earth, as at this time.

As often as I cast my thoughts upon the consideration of this most Horrid Fact, I cannot but think on those Memorable words of *David* to the *Amalekite* upon the death of *Saul*. Part of the whole Story we have in 2 *Sam.* 1. *Saul* indeed had killed himself with his own Sword, at least, had given himself his Deaths-wound. This *Amalekite* took off the Crown from his Head, and the Bracelet from his Arm, and brought both unto *David*, pretending that *he* had slain *Saul*. Very probable it is, that he hoped for some good reward at *David*s Hands (which has sometimes been the Traitors Fortune;) and he was the first I read of, that counted King-killing a *Meritorious* Act: But instead of reaping his expected *Boo-ty* he obtain'd not so much as a *Pardon*,
F but

but receiv'd his Final and deserved Doom. *David* stood amaz'd and astonisht at the Villany *How wast thou not afraid* (saith he) *to stretch forth thine hand, to destroy the Lords Anointed?* 2 Sam. 1. 14. It was a Formidable and dreadful Crime in *David's* account: And yet there are some Circumstances in that Story, which those Accursed Regicides in 48 would have used to have Justified their Fact, had the Case then been Parallel. For first, as for *this* Villain; he was no Jew, nor, (by what we find of him) any sworn Subject of *Sauls*: *I am*, saith he, *the Son of a Stranger*, an *Amalekite*, v. 13. 2ly, as for *Saul* Himself, he was a Man that had been Rejected of God for his Disobedience: A Man full of spight and causeless Revenge; a Man so wicked, as that he consulted with the Devil, when he applied himself to the Witch at *Endor*: And yet for all this you see, *David* called him the *Lords Anointed*. Besides, he was a Man so implacably set against *David* in particular, that he pursued him like a *Partridge* upon the Mountains, and would gladly have been at any Labour or Cost to have made him away, notwithstanding all his Honourable Atchievements even for *Sauls* sake. Nevertheless,
 though

though *David* was sure to Succeed him in the Throne, and so was little Concern'd (in comparison) in point of *Interest*, either to have spared him *himself*, or to have Revenged his Blood being shed by *another*; yet he did not only himself let him go, when he had him in his Power (nay, his Heart smote him , when he only cut off the skirt of his Mantle,) but as soon as this *Amalekite* had own'd, that he had slain him, he straight ordered him to be Executed, with these upbraiding and wrathful words, *How wast thou not afraid to stretch forth thine hand to destroy the Lords Anointed?*

And what a fearful sin was that then, which was at this time acted? 1. By persons, that were the Kings Natural and Born Subjects , Members and Children, as it were, of his Family ; such as he had a natural interest in , such as lay under all those obligations, which God and Nature ever laid upon Men, to Obey and Honour, to Revere and Love the great and common Father of the Country, who was no more accountable to his Subjects, then Parents are punishable by those of their own House-hold. So that the sin of this day was not only *Murder*, but *Parricide* too. A crime, which the very Heathens of old did

not dream, that it could enter into any Mans thought to meditate, therefore neither *Numa* nor *Solon* made any Laws against it. But when *Hostius* and *Malleolus* had once taken the heart to kill their Parents, then it was provided, that all such *Unnatural Wretches* (or *Brutes* rather) should be burnt alive, or drowned in the Sea with Dogs, or be cast to the wild Beasts, or be tumbled headlong from the top of some ragged *Precipice*. And yet, Secondly, besides these natural obligations, there were voluntary and *Adventitious* ones, which those persons laid themselves under; the most sacred ties in the World, and therefore called the Oaths of God; I mean the Oaths of *Allegiance and Supremacy*, which no Man can break, but must be in danger of Hell-Fire. We thought once, that the devilish stratagem of dispensing with Oaths, and of Absolving Men from their Allegiance, had been the work of the *Pope* only; to prove whom to be Antichrist, one of the best Arguments is this, that *he exalteth himself above all that is called God*, that is, above the *Kings of the Earth*.

But

But it seems, some who were great pretending Enemies to Popery, could Dispense with *themselves*, and Absolve *themselves*, and that at a *cheaper* rate too: So that in spite of Honour, Nature, Religion, and all the most strict and inviolable bands upon the Conscience, they took the unparallel'd boldness, not only to invade his Prerogative, to divest him of his Regalities, and to number him among Traytors (even beneath *themselves*, the very *Worst* and *Rankest* of all Traytors,) but after they had cut off his *Locks*, and taken off his *Crown*, they proceeded yet further, even to stretch forth their hands to *destroy the Life* of Gods Anointed, than which nothing under Heaven could be secured with a more sacred Fence.

And yet behold a greater than *Saul* was here: A Prince, for Intellectual and Moral virtues, for Natural and Acquired accomplishments, for Wisdom, Eloquence, and all kinds of Literature, for his sincere Piety, for his Christian and well-govern'd Zeal, for his Exemplary Temperance, for his Unspotted Chastity, for his Invincible Patience, for his Inexhaustible Clemency, for the Tendernefs and Compassions of his
Heart,

Heart, for his most Condescending and Gracious Spirit, for his Love to God, to his People, to the Church, for his Courage, Constancy, and singular Christian Charity even to his Enemies, and to his last breath; for all necessary and admirable Endowments, becoming a Man, a Christian, a King, a Martyr, he was a Prince by the confession of the World so Heroick, Singular, and Incomparable, that even a Romish Priest gave this character of him, that he was the greatest of Men and of Kings, *nisi quod Hæreticus*, only he was an Heretick (in their account,) that is, in truth, he prov'd a Defender, Reign'd a Confessor, Liv'd a Sufferer, and Dyed a Martyr for the True, Ancient, Catholick and Apostolick Faith, and Government of Christs Church.

The whole and only design of this Discourse is, to make Men thoroughly sensible of the Foul and Horrid nature of this days sin; that if any chance to hear me, who were either *Actors*, or *Accessories* in it, they may joyn with us in such a sincere and hearty sorrow for the Execrable Murder, as may both answer the ends of all those judgments which we have already felt; and may be a means to prevent those further Scourges

ges which we have reason yet to Fear.

Before God and the World I confefs my self abundantly fatisfied, that *Popish Jesuites* were in that Horrid Plot, to execute which some *Protestant Jesuites* were the Instruments and Hands. That Roman Priest and Confessor is known, (saith my Author) Answer to Philanax, p. 52. who when he saw the fatal stroke given to our Holy King, flourisht with his Sword, and said, now the greatest Enemy that we have in the World is gone: And when the news of that Horrible Execution came to *Roan* some Jesuited persons there told a Protestant Gentleman (of good credit) that now they were Revenged upon the King of *England*, for not re-establishing the Catholick Religion: And much more to the same effect we have in the answer to *Philanax*.

But yet it is too too manifest, who they were, and what they profess, who were the *actual* Regicides. And I will take this just occasion from hence to warn all well meaning persons, who profess the Reformed Religion, that they take great care, how they suffer themselves to be *Abus'd* for the future, or be drawn into the guilt of *Disloyalty* or *Resistance*. For I am perswaded, when our late troubles were upon breaking out,
many

many (even Hot) Men did not look as far as the Scaffold, or dream that it would be built for the King at his own Palace door; but would have abhorr'd the very thoughts and suspicion of it. Many specious and popular *pretences* ran up and down the Kingdom, and those set on foot by the *Jesuites* themselves; that *innovations crept into the Church*, that *the Prelates were Popishly-affected*, that there was *great danger of Arbitrary Power*, and the like. All the Histories of those times do bear witness to the truth of this. But would to God all Sober and Honest Men would consider, whither those things came *at last*. Did they not end in the slaughter of the best of Kings? Was not that the Period and sad conclusion of all? Did not all the clamours and strivings of the people end in that? all actions & proceedings, however otherwise intended by some; all was at last unhappily Sealed up with that blood, which ever since has cryed aloud for Vengeance upon this Nation. Men ought to be careful and wary for the future, and endeavour to choke the *beginnings* of Mischief.

For if once the bank be cut, who can tell how far the Deluge will run? In the late times, it was not the *First Intentions*, but the
the

the subsequent designs of Men, which took place so, that after the effusion of so much *Heroick, Noble,* and at last *Royal Blood* too, God plagued people strait for their First Resistance; he suffered the *Basest* of Men to ride over our backs; he brought us under the very *Faces* and *Scum* of the Nation; and permitted such to be our Lords, as a Man of *Honour* would have disdained to have set *with the Dogs of his flock*, as the expression is, *Job* 30. 1. And what was the end of this? Why, nothing but Tyranny, Hypocrisie, and Oppression. To uphold Religion they introduced Atheism: To promote Arbitrary Power they banisht our Laws; and to preserve our Liberties, they made us Slaves, and the very *worst* of Slaves, Slaves to the *vilest* of our *Fellow-subjects*. In a word; it may deserve to be consider'd, whether all those grievances which People have complain'd of all along under the Kings of *England* (putting them all together) since the Conquest, do amount to half the value and number of those Cruelties, Miseries, and Oppressions, which within the compass of a few years were brought upon us, by those few Carrion Members, of that one Rake-Hell Parliament of cursed Memory.

Thus it is, when Men will be Arbitrary, and despise the Laws. To affirm (saith my Author) that the Kings Power is separable from his Person, is High Treason by the Law of this Land. And he observes out of the case of the two *Spencers* in the Reign of *Edw. 2.* that to cover their Treason, they went upon three principles; 1st. That if the King do not demean himself by Reason in the right of his Crown, his Subjects are bound by Oath to remove him. 2^{ly}. That seeing the King could not be reformed by sure at Law, that ought to be done by Force. 3^{ly}. That his Lieges are bound to govern in aid of him, and in default

fault of him. *Jenkins Rediv. Vindic.* Pag 74.

These Principles were condemned as *Execrable* and *Detestable* by two several Parliaments in those days: And yet these were the Fundamental Principles on which that *Lewd* and *Profligate* Party did rely in 41. Then, what had been adjudged to be *Execrable* before, passed for *Law* and for *Gospel* too: Then Treason was their *Conscience*, Resistance was their *Creed*, Votes and Ordinances their *Magna Charta*, the Sword was their *Judg*, and hence it followed, that so many of the Representatives of our Nation was our *greatest Grievance*.

God would not stay till *Dooms-day* to reckon with us; but his Judgments pursued us close at *heels*: We had *Worm-Wood* for loathing *Manna*; and a Yoke of Bondage upon us, for a *Stubborn* and *Ungovernable* humour under a *Light* hand.

This was part of our Reward in this World; and should God add weight to our Burthen yet, *Rebellious* people must confess (if they will ever speak Truth in earnest) that they have deserved the most intolerable of all Evils, if our Apostle be in the right, *that They that Resist, shall receive to themselves Damnation*.

To prevent the Execution of this sad sentence; let all such as have a Real and True value of their Souls, and desire to live so in this world, as not to be miserable in another, let such account Subjection to the King, both an *Honourable* and a *Necessary* part of Religion; and not suffer themselves either to be wheedled out of their Loyalty by *Flatteries*, or to be
hufft

hufft out of it by *Fears*. Methinks 'tis something odd, that when we all agree in the Premises, we should differ in the Conclusion. That Kings ought to be submitted unto, is a Truth assented to by all sober Christians in the World; This is owned in general. The mischief is, that when we come to Particulars (whether Things or Persons) either prejudice, or passions, or interests of Men, start Evasions, and Conditions, which were never heard of in the World among Christians before. Some are for the King, as long as he is Rich, Powerful, and able to maintain their Interest; that's the Loyalty of the *Leviathan*. Others stick to *him*, as long as he sticks to their Religion; that is, the Loyalty of the *Conclave*, and the *Kirk*. But the Faith of the Church of *England* is this (which I am sure is consonant to the universal sense and practice of the Ancient, Apostolick Church, that let Princes be (as it shall please God) either a *Blessing*, or a *Rod* to a Kingdom, in all things *Lawful* they are to be *Obeded*; and where we cannot Obey *them*, but by sinning against *God*, there their Authority is to be *submitted unto*; so that whatever their *Practices*, or their *Faith* be, yet their *Prerogatives*, their *Persons*, their *Lives* must be *Sacred*: though they be *Sauls*, yet 'tis a most fearful thing to lift up ones hand to destroy the Lords Anointed. I shall conclude all with that of the wisest of Monarchs and Men, *Prov. 24. 21. My Son, fear thou the Lord, and the King, and meddle not with them that are given to change. Amen,*

Soli Deo Gratia.

F I N I S.

